

In this field of defence preparation the council also took a number of other important decisions. A beginning has been made by the two defence committees of the council, one military and the other financial and economic, in working out the details of a unified defence programme for the North Atlantic community. The reports of these committees were reviewed and carefully examined, and directives were issued to guide these committees in their future work. To quote from the communiqué, "these directives emphasize that the problem of adequate military forces and the necessary financial costs should be examined as one, not as separate problems". It was recognized that while in present political circumstances defence requirements must come first, nevertheless, it might be dangerous and indeed disastrous if the defence effort in any country were carried to a point where it strained and weakened the economic and social fabric of that country. That is one reason, I think, why the North Atlantic nations must plan their defences as a team. That is why there must be the closest co-operation in planning and in production, and the greatest possible standardization of weapons and equipment, a matter which we also discussed in London. Only thus may it be possible for some, and perhaps most, of the members of the Atlantic community to avoid the economic and social dangers of unnecessarily swollen defence expenditures, which would open the doors to the exploiters of domestic discontent.

In short the Atlantic nations must supply their peoples with guns and butter until guns are no longer needed. How much of each will have to be determined by each country in the light of its own special position and of the general situation. Personally, however, I think it is idle and indeed it could be mischievous to try to lay down formulae and mathematical criteria for the purpose of determining exactly how much each country should do. It may be that the development of a new iron ore field by one country would be a far greater contribution to general security than an additional division of infantry; yet no one wishes to make the comparison, with all its implications, between blood and iron. So we in this North Atlantic group must have, as we do, faith that every member will do its full and fair part in ensuring our collective security. As a result of the decisions we have taken we may now be advised by the agencies we have set up as to the most effective kind of individual contribution we can make to the collective effort. It then remains for the individual governments to decide how this advice and these directives can be made effective by national action.

Other decisions which were important in the field of defence concerned mutual aid and shipping. In London we reaffirmed the principle that self-help and mutual aid are important parts of our defense measures. Again the detailed effect of this decision will have to be worked out. Within the vast area of our alliance, however, there are more than ample resources to meet our defence needs, and tremendous actual or potential productive capacity, much greater than exists or can be developed in the communist despotisms. There are many ways in which we can assure distribution of these resources in a way to meet the demands of the defence programme. Mutual aid is only one of them.

The decision to establish a North Atlantic planning board for ocean shipping is another step of great potential importance in the preparation of a unified system of defence. By this means we hope to be able to foresee and meet in advance any emergency that may arise in wartime in connection with the organization of our merchant shipping in the North Atlantic.